



special
collections



DOUGLAS
LIBRARY

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY
AT KINGSTON

KINGSTON ONTARIO CANADA

3,030,059

A N

Impartial Enquiry
Into the
C A U S E S
Of the PRESENT
Fears and Dangers
O F T H E
Government ,
Being a
DISCOURSE

*Between a Lord Lieutenant, and one of his
Deputies, Summoned to hold a Lieute-
nancy, for Raising the Militia.*

L O N D O N ,
Printed in the Year M D C X C I I .

qui nra pia leiu uqual

— 20 —

232 U A 3

— 21 —

anglo. Cm. emig.

— 22 —

GOALIMCCE.

— 23 —

DISCOURSE

of the author, from the original
MS. in the possession of the
Archbishop of Dublin.

1500000

1500000 and 1500000

A N

Impartial Enquiry

Into the

CAUSES

Of the Present FEARS and DANGERS of the GOVERNMENT,
&c.

DEPT. *Lieut.* My Lord, I am glad 'tis my good Fortune to be the first that attends your Lordship upon your *Summons*, and I hope your Lordship will give me leave before your other Deputies come (in whose fidelity to the Government, I cannot much confide) to be informed by your Lordship of the Causes for putting the Country to this *New Charge*.

Pray, my Lord, are there any real fears of a *powerful Invasion*, as the Proclamation says? are we so weak at *Sea*, after so many Millions expence, that our *Ships* cannot secure us from any *foreign Invasion*?

We were perswaded, that no *French Ships* durst once look ours in the Face, and that we were to make a *Descent into France* with a potent Army; and the Parliament gave the utmost penny that was demanded, both for *Fleet* and *Army*, according to the computation brought them; and our Countrymen were made to hope, that our King would have been in *Paris* before *Michaelmas-day*; and nothing eased their Minds in paying 5 s. or 6 s. in the pound out of their Lands this year again, and a *quarterly Poll* beside, *never heard of before in England*, for themselves, their *Wives*, *Children* and *Servants*, but only their hopes, that these should be the *last Taxes*, that they should

should ever pay, and that all the charge hereafter should be imposed upon *France*, and the *forfeited Estates* of our *Enemies*.

And my Lo:d are we come to that pass now, that both *Fleet* and *Army* cannot defend our *Island*, but that the *poor People* must again bear the charge of raising the *Militia*, as great as any of the *Tax: s*?

Truly, my Lord, I dare not tell you, how the *Countrys* murmur, nor what they say amorg themselves, but they talk strangely of our *making War abroad*, if we be not *safe at hom: s*; and they begin to ask, why they are plagu'd with *quartering Soldiers*, and paying them besides, if they must be put to *defend themselves*?

But I must not tell your Lordship more of their talk; I hope your Lordship knows that there is no great danger, and that this *su mons* for railing the *Militia* will go no further. Yet I will be plain with your Lordship the *Country* does say, if there be real danger, the *Government* is *betrayed*.

Lord Li. w:. Sir, at your Request, I shall not refuse to give you the best satisfaction I can, knowing your Prudence and Fidelity to this *Government*, tho I shall *only* pursue my Orders to the *whole Lieutenancy*, to put the *Country* into the *best Posture* I can.

I dare tell you plainly, that there was *greater danger* of the *Subversion* of the *whole Government*, than I could have imagined, and if it be *blown over*, it is to be ascribed to Nothing but to the *Divine Providence*.

It is most certain, That there was a deep and dangerous Design laid, as that *Monsieur d'Etre*, the *French Admiral*, should provide at *Tbouln* in the *Streights* (out of our sight, and free from our suspicion, whereof we could not well have Intelligence) a *potent Fleet*, fit to convoy and transport a great Army into this *Kingdom* and to bring that Fleet into *Bret*,

before the end of *March* last, and the *French King* had supplyed the late *King James* with *Money, Arms and Ammunition*, and collected together 20000 *Scotch, Irish, English, French and Switz*, and assigned them quarters upon the *Coasts of Normandy* to be ready to imbarque upon the first Arrival of the Fleet from *Tbouln*, and from thence it was designed to pass directly to *Portsmouth*, and the *Isle of Wight*, which had not been a *Work* of many hours.

And had not the good *God* prevented that Fleet's coming by contrary *Winds* for *Five weeks together*, they had certainly compassed their *Design*, before any of the *English* or *Dutch Fleets* could have been at *Sea*, to have made the least opposition, and the late *K. James* his *Agents*, and such as are *treacherous to the present Government* had dispersed the *Knowledge* of this *Design* to their *Confidants* throughout *England*, and given Orders that they should be in *readines* to *get together* in every *County*, upon the *first News* of the *Landing* of the late *K. James*, to distract and *disturb* the *coming together* of the *Militia*.

And to that purpose *K. James's* *Adherents*, and *Men of desperate Fortunes*, had bought up most of the *serviceable Horses* in all the *Fairs* of the *Kingdom*, and were come to such a height of *confidence*, as to boast of the *Assurance* they had of the *greatest Numbers* of the *Lieutenancy* of most *Countries*, especially the *City of London*; and of their *Partakers* among the *Officers* of the *Army and Fleet*, and of *great Numbers* of the *Nobility, Gentry and Clergy*, that would *immediately declare* for *K. James*.

They bragged, with what reason I will not say, that greater *Men* than are fit to be named had *made their Peace with King James*, and taken their *Pardons*, and would be ready to declare, that they never served *K. William*, but according to the *Statute of Hen. 7. as K. in Possession*, owning the *right* to be in *K. James*.

Sir, This *design* being now *known*, ap-
pear

pears to me to have been so politickly laid, that I know not what could have prevented our ruin, if the Winds and the Seas had not fought for our preservation. I must confess, I often wondred, that the *Enemies of the Government* were so busy and so bold, that Justice seemed to be asleep, and their Enormities were connived at, and many of them were admitted into *Power* and *Trust*, and had better credit and acceptance with divers in *Authority*, than Men of the most *approved Fidelity* to the Government; yet before these Discoverles were made, I did not believe the *Government* had been so *near a Precipice*, that there wanted but a *favourable wind* to subvert it.

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, I am a frighted to see the danger we have escaped. But, pray my Lord, is there no money allowed for *Intelligence*? are there none that watch for the Safety of the Kingdom? is it possible, that Fleets and Armies can be provided invisibly? I doubt the Country has too much reason to say, that *their Majesties* are betrayed.

I must confess, my Lord, I have been troubled with *murmurs* and *Suspitions of that kind from understanding Gentlemen*, as often as I came from *Parliament*, but I always used the best skill I had, to suppress such thoughts and fears, and prayed their patience to expect a *fitter Season for their Majesties to suppress their Enemies and reward their Friends*.

But the great Pressures of the Country, have been so long continued, and their hopes of relief so often deluded, that if I should now tell them (as your Lordship hath kindly told me) that they were, and are, in as great danger of utter ruin, as at the beginning of the *hopeful Revolution*, they would be out of all patience, and conclude positively, That the *Kingdom could not be in such a Condition, if their Majesties Councils and Designs were not betrayed*.

I profess, my Lord, I know not how to allay the Countrey's Jealousies of some in

too much Power with their Majesties, nor how to perswade them to bear this additional burthen of *raising the Militia* chearfully, unless I could shew them a *speedy End of their Sufferings*, in the Safety of their Religion, Laws and Liberties.

I confess, my Lord, I have been, and am, as much troubled, as any of my Neighbors to see the *conduct of their Majesties Affairs*, ever since their Settlement, and have often thought they were betrayed from the beginning; and if your Lordship can spare me a few moments, and pardon my freedom, and let it be under the *Roſe*, I will tell your Lordship, why I have so long doubted, that their Majesties are betrayed, and I beg your correſtion, if I mistake. I know your Lordship's Interest and Mine are involved in their Majestys Government, and it is high time to consult our own safety, if they be betrayed.

Lord Lieut. Sir, I am glad of this opportunity to compare Notes; pray, be free, and let us inspect the *whole Administration* since the Revolution.

The *Commons in Parliament* (you know better than I, having been a Member there) have been complaining almost from the beginning of *ill and Unfaithful Instruments* about the King: Some they have named, and others they decyphered; and you may remember they sent to the K. to know who advised him to employ some of the late K. James's Instruments in *Trusts of great Importance*; but they found no *effect* of all their Endeavours.

I have often sat in the *house of Lords* with an aking Heart to see good Proposals (for their Majesties and the Kingdoms security) opposed, and rejected by pretended Favourites; I believe, you have done the same among the *Commons*; therefore, if you please, we will look back upon the *whole Conduct*, and see what we ought to conclude from thence.

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, You oblige me to speak my whole heart in this Affair, and I must

must confess my Fears of Treachery began as soon as I saw the Prince of Orange pass *Salisbury* without opposition, and with the Protestants great Applause.

I was afraid that those, who had been the *Kingdom's Enemies*, being themselves unable to resist the Prince, would either destroy him, or his good designs, by *Flatteries* and *false Insinuations*. —— I first observed an Attempt to bring him to a *Treaty* with the *late King*, and to stand upon *equal Terms* to the Judgment of the *late King's Parliament*, hoping to have shammed the Kingdom with such specious Concessions, for keeping out Popery, and redressing Grievances, that might have sent the Prince home again with a *good Sum of Money, and fair Promises*.

But the *Cowardice* of the *late K.* after *Commissions* for a *Treaty* signed, made that attempt fruitless, and brought him to be at the Prince his *Dispose*.

The *next Treachery* was, to persuade our *Now King* to have presently caused his *Army to proclaim him King*, and to have assumed to himself the *Royal Office*; presuming thereby to have kindled hatred and revenge in the hearts of more than those, whose Love he had gained by his *Declarations* for restoring our Religion, Laws and Liberties,

His Enemies knew, that his Force bore no proportion with the strength of the *Kingdom*, which would have had an *Abhorrence* of him and his *Foreigners*, and an *Indignation* to have been *cokes'd & cheated* into such a *perfect Slavery* by him they trusted, who had appealed to *Heaven*, that his *Soul abhorred* such a *design*: But the *Vanity* and *pernicious Consequence* of these *Counsels* were so discovered to our *King*, that he escaped that *snare*, and chose to be advised by a *Convention of all that had been Members of late Parliaments*, who justly proposed, that the *People* should have notice to choose their *Representatives* to re-establish their *Government*.

In the *Interim* diverse of those, who had been the *worst of K. James's Instruments*, in his *Designs* against our Religion and *Government*, applied themselves to our *K.* with the most *servile Flatteries* and *mean Submissions* to gain an *esteem* with him, and *admission* into his *Councils*, hoping thereby to serve their own *Master's Interest*, when the *Representatives* should meet, and therefore craftily persuaded our *K.* from all courses that tended to the *inner Exclusion* of *K. James*, they insinuated *ugly Dangers* of the *scattering* and *dispersing* of *K. James's Army*, and advised the *gathering* them into *Troops* and *Companies* that had dispersed themselves; and to bring our *K.* into *Debt*, procured his *Promises* of *paying their Arrears*, who were raised by *K. James* for the *destruction* of our Religion and *Government*.

At the same time, they were very *busy* by *false Insinuations*, and (with too much *unhappy Success*) to prevent our *K.*'s acceptance of the *repeated Offers* from *several Counties and Cities*, to raise him *Regiments of Volunteers* at their own *Charge*, upon whose *fidelity* he might have absolutely depended.

At this time also the same *secret Adherents* to *K. James* indeavoured to keep his *Authority* alive in *Ireland*, and his *possession* of that *Kingdom* by the *Lord Tyrconnel*, they found ways to prevent the acceptance of the *L. Tyrconnel's frank offers* *presently to resign that Kingdom* which (tho then concealed) are since publicly printed by *Dr. King* in his excellent *Book*, Entituled *the State of the Protestants in Ireland, under the late K. James*.

They craftily persuaded *Tyrconnel*, that his *condition* was *desperate*, and that there was no *safety* for him but in *Arms*, and gained time for him to new model the *Irish Army* (which were then for the most part *Protestants*) and to prepare that *Kingdom* to be a *refuge* for *K. James* and his *French*.

In this State of Affairs the Convention met , and K. *Jame's* Agents, and our K's now Flatterers, were very near betraying him to settle K. *Jame*s in his Throne, and to provide for his speedy Return, under a shew of excluding him, they pretended to applaud and admire our K's Virtues, and to own the Kingdom infinitely obliged to him , and therefore proposed to make him *REGENT* of the Kingdom ; as if they would have resigned all things unto his Conduct ; but with the same Breath, they *treacherously insinuated* a *Divine Right* in K. *Jame*s to hold the Crown , and insisted that there could be no lawful Authorities in the Kingdom that were not derived from him ; which was to make their proposed *Regent* K. *Jame*s's Officer ; they set up *Conscience* for a *Stake*, alledging, that none could *absolve* the Kingdom from their *Oaths of Allegiance* to K. *Jame*s, and sought to subvert all the Principles of the *Legal English Government*, by defaming and blackning for *Common-wealths-men* all that durst assert (as our Ancestors have done in like Cases) that K. *Jame*s had broken his *Original Contract* and *Oath* with the Kingdom , and renounced his being an *English K.* bound by the Laws, when he declared in his Courts of Justice, and by his *Declaration* under the Great Seal, that he could *suspend the use of all our Laws at his mere Will and Pleasure*; they maintained that the *Right of the Crown* was inseparable from the Person of *King James* ; so that all the Officers of the Kingdom must have sworn *Allegiance* to K. *Jame*s, whilst our K. had born the *Name* of a *REGENT*.

If they had prevailed herein , as they were very near it , they had declared the *Kingly Power* to have been in K. *Jame*s both by *Divine and Human Right* , and stript our K. of all *rightful Authority* , more than what K. *Jame*s had been gratiously pleased to give him.

This was the *Mister-Piece* of Treachery against our K. in many that aspired to places of Profit, Honour and Trust under him as their now Master : And had

it succeeded , it would certainly have brought him under the Power of their Old Master, and themselves into their former Capacities, of pursuing their most pernicious designs against the Kingdom.

Truly, my Lord, I never think without some Horror of our Escape from this Treachery ; they had made their Party above 150 Strong in our House, and pray, my Lord, How was it in yours?

Lord Lieut. Sir , I cannot remember how many Lords were in our House, when it was put to the Question , *Whether the Throne was Vacant*; but my Soul was vexed to see how near we were undoing all that had been done for the Kingdom by our K. and as I remember we carried it, *not by more than Three Votes*, that *the Throne was vacant*, and the *Kingdom in a condition to settle a lawful Government without K. James*. Yet many now in Power about our King had the confidence to enter upon Record their *Protestations* against that *Vote*.

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, I was in hopes when both Houses had agreed that the Throne was Vacant, and the divisions in both were so well known to the whole Kingdom, that our K. would have so distinguished his Friends from his Enemies, that there would have been no danger of his believing their Flatteries nor giving them opportunities of betraying him to their Old Master ; but I quickly observed, that they were so conscious to themselves of their former guilt in subverting the Government, that they could hardly believe, that either our K. or the People could forgive them , and therefore thought it their Interest never to cease their Treacheries against K. *William*, as every new Occasion offered , when they could not prevent the Settlement of the Crown upon our K. and Q. they seemed so zealous therein above others, that they would have heaped all Powers upon them confusedly , without mention or regard to the Kingdoms Rights, or the Antient Form of the English contracting with their Kings upon Oath.

They

They boasted themselves to be the only Men for Monarchy, that always defended the Prerogatives of the Crown; they would scarce bear a Bill for the Peoples Rights, as if they had been such Votaries to K. William, that they were content to make him their *absolute Lord*; but their *treacherous Intent* were evident, they sought for matter and occasion to suggest against him Ambition, Love of Domination, and Falseness to all his pretences made in his Declaration, that the Peoples Liberties should be secure, that they should never be in danger again to be invaded; they cunningly sought to sow the Seeds of Division between the K. and his People, by leaving the Powers of the Crown and the Peoples Rights undistinguished, intending (as their practise shewed) to raise new Disputes about Prerogative, and insinuate themselves into the Kings Favour, as the only Defenders of it, and none others fit to be trusted to support the Monarchy.

Lord Lieut. Sir, I perceive you carefully observe the Debates of your House and the Designs their secret Enemies had upon them, and you bring to my mind what I saw, that some Members of our House, who had entered *Protestations*, that we could not give the Crown to K. William and Q. Mary, were the greatest Opposers of the securities offered for the Peoples Liberties. But, pray Sir, go on, if you find any other Treacheries.

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, I find the same Party of Men deceitfully offering their Services at Court, but complaining that they were disabled by want of *Indemnity*, for what they had done in the late Reigns and were in continual danger of being prosecuted for their Estates, or Lives, by Men that would admit of no moderation, pretended, that some Members durst not displease the House in arguing for the Crown, as they would, whilst such *severe rods* were over them; therefore they often pressed and perswaded His Majesty to move the House to hasten an *Act of Indemnity* for them.

Lord Lieut. But, Sir, was there any *treacherous Intention* to our King in pressing for an *Act of Indemnity*? It was commonly thought and said, that it was the only way to unite all People to our King, and to take off their thoughts from returning to K. James, and for that reason it was absolutely necessary.

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, no good Men doubted, that an *Act of Indemnity* was needful for quieting the Minds of thousands that had been *criminal* in compliance with K. James; but that nothing could be more pernicious to the future peace and security of our Government, than an *absolute General Indemnity* for all our late K. James's Ministers to forgive all *Treasons, Murders in Forms of Law, Suspensions of the Laws, Establishments of Popish Courts and Convents, surrendering and betraying of Charters, perversions of the whole course of Justice, and professedly laying Foundations for perpetual Popery and Slavery.*

For that reason, my Lord, the *Convention* took infinite pains so to form an *Act of Indemnity* as might have answered all the *Ends of Mercy*, yet with due regard to *Justice*, and the future Safety of our K. and Government.

They agreed in their Votes, that *few* should be *excepted* from *Mercy* as to their *Lives*, and as *few* as possible to their *Estates* and all other punishments.

They concluded, upon many Solemn Debates, first to Name the *several sorts of Publick Crimes*, for every of which, *some ought to be punished* for Examples sake, as *lasting Monuments of Justice*, either as to *Life, or Estate, or Fines, or Exclusion from publick Trusts*; but the Ministers of the Late Reign employed all their party to *lengthen out*, and throw *Stumbling blocks* into the Debates, and applyed themselves at Court to blast and scandalize the *Members of the Convention*, as Men that would *tear all to Pieces*, and come to no *Settlement*:

men, they accused them of Studying Revenge, and setting up a Faction, and keeping of those out, who would gladly come in to our K's Interest,

I have often seen, my Lord, those impudently whispering these Falshoods in our Court, who, I knew, did in private ridicule both our K. and Q. and drink their Confusion and Damnation; yet they so prevailed, that the Convention was blamed for Delays of Setling the K's Revenue, levying Moneys, and doing nothing: whilst these *Secret Traitors* obstrued every Business, and studiously prevented the passing any A&S tending towards Settlement, that all might continue in distraction, whereby they hoped to advance K. James's Interest, and make themselves seem to be necessary to be favoured and employed by our K.

My Lord, They were so crafty in this Affair, that they found ways to flatter our K. with shews of dependence upon his Clemency, and to insinuate to him, that they would be content with an *Act of Grace* and Pardon from him, rather than longer to seek for an *Act of Indemnity* so clogged with Exceptions and Limitations, as the *Convention* proposed.

They crept into the Court, but were impatient till they were so indemnified, and admitted into places of Power and Trusts that they might overlook those whom they had oppressed before, and carry on their old designs in the former Reigns.

It was not easie to discern the *hidden Treachery* to our K's Interest, in seeking a thing so seemingly harmless as a *General Indemnity*; but the designers knew the mischievous consequences of it; they understood that it would amount to our K's forsaking, or rather renouncing some of the chief declared Causes of his coming in Arms.

He had called God to Witness, that he came to Execute Justice upon those *Evil Ministers* of the late K's who had subverted the Government, to introduce *Popery* and *Slavery*. They knew that it would Prevent the Terroir in futurity of Exemplary punishments upon the greatest Traytors, which ought to have been one of our greatest securities of our Liberties and Lives against the *Evil Ministers*.

B

sters of our Princes. They foresaw, it would Dishonour, both the K. and Parliament who had declared divers Barbarous Murthers to have been committed upon persons of honour, and worthy Defenders of our Liberties; whilst their *Murthberers* should stand indemnified, and possess'd of some of the greatest *Authorities in the Kingdom*. They were well advised, that it would secure the *worst Instruments* of the former *Tyrannies*, to be ready to continue the like mischiefs, and to insinuate themselves into our K's Councils, upon pretence of their being *experienced in Government*, and always *Zealous for Monarchy*.

Lord Lieut. Sir, You make it plain, that the Root of all our Evils, and the Kingdoms present weakness and fears, had their first rise from the *false Notions* at first given to the K. of things and Men, and the advices thereupon against his own, and the Kingdoms Interest. But pray, Sir, what other *Traiterous Practises* did they use to *deceive* our K. by, to promote K. James's Interest against his own?

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, they advised his Majesty to influence such Members of Parliament as he could to *obstruct* the passing of the *Bill* depending for *Corporations*, whereby it was intended to *exclude* from the *Magistracy* for some years all the *principal Betrayers* and *Surrenderers* of *Charters* without the Cities and Town's consent, that by consequence all the *Magistrates* might have been chosen out of those honest *Englishmen*, that had hazard'd themselves in opposing K. James his practises to subvert our Religion, Laws and Liberties.

Too much Credit was given to their *false Suggestions* made to the K. that he would create *Multitudes of Enemies* if such a *Bill* passed, and keep such quarrels and feuds as would set all the Cities and Towns on fire.

Now by this means most of the *principal Criminals* and K. James his *Adherents* were suffered to continue in the *Offices* and *Trusts* of all the *Corporations*, to be ready to choose *Members* for a *succeeding Parliament* like themselves, and none would be believed, that foretold the danger. The specious *prétextes* of *Moderation* and *Uniting Parties*, seemed to lay the K's Cares of his own Safety asleep.

And truly, my Lord, the same Party
that were so careful to delude the K. to fa-
vor the Adherents of K. James in the
Corporations, were no less industrious to
induce themselves into his Service and
Employments, they were so prosperous in
their flatteries, that in a short time, most
of the Powers and Trusts both Military and
Civil came into the Possession of those that
ought to have suffered in some kind as Crimi-
nals.

Lord Lieut. Sir, You make me think how
I was imposed upon in settling the *Deputy-
Lieutenancy* of this County. I was told (by
too good Authority) my List would not be
approved at Court, if I left out those that
had been put in by K. James, though
they had too much served his Interest. It
was said, that I was not to regard what
they had been, and what they had done
under K. James, if they would now take
Commissions from our K. I ought to
be for healing, and I must confess, I was
so deluded, that if there should be now
occasion for our *Lieutenancy*, I have reason
to fear, the far greater part of them,
would be more studious to promote K.
James's Return, than to raise Arms against
him.

I was troubled, that I was in a manner
forced to have such *Deputy-Lieutenants*,
whom I knew to have been *Enemies* to the
Revolution; but when I advised with some
at Court, whether it was fit to seek an
Alteration? They bid me see the change
lately made in *London*; That those who
most complied with K. James to destroy their
Liberties, and the very *Being* of the City,
were made the *major Part* of the *Lieuten-
ancy*; and the *Colonels*, and other *Com-
mission-Officers* made by the *first Lieutenancy*,
after the *Revolution*, of such as had been
most *faithful* to the City and their Coun-
tries *Liberties*, and most *zealous* for the
present Government, were at once turned
out by the *New Lieutenancy*, I was then
hopeless, tho I dreaded the Consequence
of making K. James's Party the *Guard* of
our *Deliverer* from his *Oppressions*.

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, The Mischiefs you
prudently foresaw of putting the Powers
of our Country into unfaithful bands, are
now seen and felt by every honest Man.
But, pray, my Lord, do you not think, that

our K. was as much betrayed in the Coun-
cels given him about the *Reduction of Ire-
land*, when these sort of Men had got in
his Ear? were not all their *advices* direct-
ed to *cherish* and keep alive K. James's In-
terest in *Ireland*?

I could never find any other reason, why
Forty *Sail* of Stout Men of War, well e-
quipped, delivered up by my Lord *Dart-
mouth*, and *Forty more*, which came with
our K. from *Holland*, were kept in Port use-
less, when a Part of them might, *without*
resistance, have possessed themselves of the
Harbors of *Cork* and *Kingsale* in *Ireland*,
being then neither *fortified* nor *garrisoned*,
and that alone had prevented all the De-
signs of K. James and the *French K.* upon
that Kingdom, and saved all that vast *Ex-
pence of Blood and Treasure*, which it hath
since cost to reduce it, besides the Spoil
and *Destruction* by War, which hath laid a
great Part of that Country *wast* and *desolate*.

I dread the thoughts of the Account that
must be given of three or fourscore thou-
sand Mens Blood, needlessly spilt in that
Kingdom.

If part of the Fleet had been thus im-
ployed, the rest had been sufficient to
have crushed all the first preparations of
the *French* for a *Naval War*.

The two late *Kings* had so absolutely
betrayed this *Kingdom* to *France*, that he
had neither *fortified* *Brest*, nor *St. Maloës*,
nor *Sherborn*, nor *Havre-de-Grace*, nor any
of his Harbours in our Seas, unless we shall
reckon *Dunkirk* for one, which was *forti-
fied* by us, and then basely sold to him.

It had been an easie Work in the early
Spring of 1689. (if the *Advices* of those
faithful to our K. had taken place) to have
burnt by surprize the *French Ships* in all
those Harbours, which had secured our
Merchants a free and open Trade, and put
our *Dominion* of the *Seas* past all *Dispute*.

How many *hundred* *Sail* of *Trading
Ships* would have been preserved by that
means, to increase the *Strength* and *Wealth*
of *England*, which now not only serve
for *Trophies* to the *French*, but to augment
the *Strength* and *Wealth* of that *Monarch*,
and set up his *People* for *Traders*, and
breeding *Seamen*, to make his *Naval Force*
serve his *Empire by Land*?

Lord Lieut. Sir, Do not wonder, that the
Fleet

Fleet was not made use of to the purposes you mention, which had utterly surprized both French and Irish; I can assure you the *Traitorous Advisers*, who had crept into our Court had resolved, that it was most for K. James his Interest to have a War.

His old Officers in their usual Language of *Damning*, said, they must have a War, or else they might hang themselves. It was thought fit by the most crafty to keep things in *distraction*, to make the new Government more burthensom to the People than the old, to gain time to wear off the resentments of K. James his Tyrannies, to move pity in many towards him, and his pretended Son, to throw in *Scuples* in the Peoples minds about the claiming a *Succession by Divine Right*, and the *Lawfulness* of *deposing* of a King.

They knew that the French must have time to form a Heet, and to supply K. J. with Arms, Men and Money to distress our K. in Ireland and Scotland, and you cannot but remember by the Debates in your House, how delays were studiyed in the Preparations against the Irish.

Dep. Lieu. My Lord, I can never forget the long Debates kept up in our House about Declaring the Irish War, the Sums to be given for that Use, the time for which they were to be continued, and the Arts used to lengthen them, and keep off the Conclusion; which could be intended for nothing but Delays.

In the interim, our K. was treacherously advised to send Colonel Hambleton to Tyrconnel, and to wait the Issue of his Negotiation; the effect whereof was his *Conjunction* with Tyrconnel, to disarm the Protestants, to form an Irish Army, and declare *VWar* against our K.

My Lord, we found no small difficulties to cross the treacherous Advises of Delay, and obtain from our K. a *Proclamation*, appointing a short time for the Irish to submit to his Obedience, or else to stand *Declared Traitors and Rebels*.

I saw, to my Grief, the faithful Duke Schonberg's Excellent Advice could not prevail, when he wisely proposed an *immediate March* of an Army for Ireland in the first of the Spring, to have passed through Scotland to Port Patrick, from whence they might pass to Ireland in a few hours; which

had secured the *Kingdom of Scotland* in their Passage, and had so surprized the Irish, they had never been able to have formed an Army fit to oppose us.

I observed that the *First Officers* commended to our K. to ingage in that Irish War, were of those that had served K. James, and in Coll. Lundy this first Tryal they were put *Major Tiffey* so near *London-Derry*, they shamefully shewed either their *Treachery*, or *Cowardise*, which encouraged the Enemy to undertake the *Bloody Siege* of that miserable Town.

It was, my Lord, by Advice of the same Stamp, that a *Commission* was obtained for Collonel Lundy, to be Governor of *London-Derry*, and to send two Regiments only for the Defence of that Town, and all the *Protestants* of the *North of Ireland*, when all the rest of that Kingdom was under K. James's Power; and the Officers so sent shewed quickly they belonged to K. James, and Cunningham and resolved, together with the good Governor Lundy, to withdraw their force, and leave the Town for K. James's Service, and hastened again for *England*.

Our House indeed was sensible of the *Treachery*, and Examined the Officers themselves and others, and moved for *exemplary Punishment*; especially that Lundy should be tryed for his Life.

They were in Prison for a little while, and those that advised the Employment of them took care for their security and Liberty without the trouble of Tryals.

My Lord, It was no less than a Wonder that these treacherous dealings had not made K. James master of the whole *Kingdom of Ireland*; that a confused Number of *Protestants* in mere *Desperation* should throw themselves into a Town so deserted, resolving to sell their Lives at the *dearest Rate* they could, that Men unskill'd in War should neither fear *Sword* nor *Famine*, when the strength of that whole *Kingdom* with the *French Auxiliaries* came against them; yet the result of the Advice then given, was to send Major General Kirk with Provisions, Arms and Men,

Men, to relieve that *famishing* People ; but when his Fleet was safe in the River of *London-derry*, though the People in great numbers starved every day, he never attempted to relieve them, under pretence that the *passage* of the River to the Town was stopt by *Bombs*, the Castle *fortified*, and the whole bank of the River strengthened with *Breast-works*, lined with *Musqueteers*.

But our House of Commons hearing that several thousands were starved in the Town for want of the Provisions sent, they examined the matter, and found by sufficient Witnesses, that when Major General *Kirk* arrived in the River, and for some time after, there was *no Bomb*, nor any thing like it; *No Castle* with a *Gun* in it, nor *Breast-work*, nor *Musqueteer* on either side the River, nor any thing that could have hindred his relieving the Town, if he had intended it; but it appeared, that he withdrew his Fleet, and Landed his Forces in an Island to secure himself, where he *feasted* and *revelled* with some of the *principal Rebels*, with whom he had lately served *K. James*: In the mean time the miserable People of the Town, were left without help, until their own *Courage* and *Conduct*, with Gods assistance forced the *Enemies* to *raise the Siege*,

Lord Lieut. You so discover the ill Councils from step to step, that I hope you kept a *Journal* of them. Pray did none *blush*, when your House was examining these Treacheries? Were none of the Councils changed, when the House shewed such *Jealousies* of the Managers of those Affairs, and complained of the *unfaithfulness* of the *Ministers of State*?

Truly, my Lord, *K. James's* Party grew so bold, that the foulest Action mentioned did not want an *Advocate*, that Party stuck to their point of *delaying* the *dispatch* of an *Army* for *Ireland*, and gave *K. James* the whole Spring, and much of the Summer of the Year 1689. to strengthen himself, and they applyed themselves chiefly to get those that *hated* our *K.* in their *earths* into the *Offices*, upon which the *Success* and *Being* of the *Army* depended.

They shewed themselves in the Provision of *Horses* for the *Artillery* and *Carriage*-

ges, the buying *Stores* of *Biskets*, *Meal*, *Oats*, and *Vittuals*, the preparation of *Transport Ships* and *Convoys*, the Orders for marching the Regiments of *Horse* for that Expedition, and the *Commissionaries* for the *Stores* for the *Armies* subsistence.

I say, my Lord, in the *Conduit* of all this, and the *Choice* of the *Officers* for them, there appeared so much *Treachery*, upon the *Examination* taken in our House about them, that many of us were afraid that the *Armies* would be betrayed into *K. James's* hand. Honest Duke *Sekonberg's* Soul was so fretted by his long waiting at *Chester*, to get together but a *small Body of Foot* by the disappointments (tho' the pretended mistakes of Orders) of the coming of his *Horse*, by the unfitness of the *Transport Ships* to carry over the *Artillery* and *Carriage-Horses*, by the neglect of necessary *Provision* of *Stores*, and putting *Wheat* on *Poard* instead of *Bisket* and *Meal*, by the favour of *long expected Convoys*, and other supplies, that the poor Gentleman chose to hazard himself with out a *Convoy*, and his *small body of Foot*, with few, or *no Troops of Horse*, and without any *Carriage* or *Artillery-Horse* to try his Fortune to get upon *Irish Land*, when the Winds would suffer him, being willing to run the *utmost* danger of perishing, rather than *not to attempt* some *relief* to the poor *Protestants*, and suffer the *Treachery* of those employed to hazard the reputation of his *faithfulness*.

Yet when the poor Gentleman (in despite of all their falsehood) had Landed his *small Army*, he could not pursue the *Enemy* for want of those *Troops of Horse*, and *Carriage-Horses* and other *Necessaries* left behind. But the *Treachery* continued in detaining them, and in letting the *Carriage-Horses* to *hire* for *Plow* and *Cart* about *Chester*, and that Villany enforced him to encamp at *Dundalk*, in the *Enemies Quarters*, and use his *Excellent Conduct* in saving so small a party against *K. James's* Numerous *Army*; tho' the *unwholesomeness* of the *place*, and the *faileur* of the *supplies* expected, occasioned the *Deaths* of many worthy Gentlemen, and the *miserable Sickness* and sufferings of many more, and the loss of *Ten thousand Protestants* before the *Spring* following.

That

That *Treacherous party* had presumed to put the *Stores*, that were the *Life* of the *Army*, into the hands of some that were so *notorious* in K. *James's* *Interest*, that our K. was *convinced* of the *Danger*, and sent *Orders* to *seize the Stores*, and *secure* their *persons, books and papers*: And tho the K. and *Parliament* agreed there was too much *reason* for it, yet that *party* had such *Interest* and *Favour* to *protect* them, that their *Offences* are *covered* to this day, and they thought worthy of *Trust*.

Lord *Lieu*. Sir, upon our *Review* of this *First* years *Administration*, it is a *wonder* to me, that the K. did not see how K. *James's* *party* *Flattered* and *betrayed* him in his *Councils* and *Management* of his *Forces*; and whilst they pretended to come into his *Interest* to *serve* him, they had *weakened* him in *Reputation*, *Treasure*, and *Force*; and more *unsettled* him in *Feb. 1689.* then when he was first *Proclaimed* K. in *Feb. 1688.*

Dep. *Lieu*. My Lord, I cannot *imagine* what that *party* whispered to our K. to *create* in him a *distrust* of those that had been and were *more faithful* to him, nor how they gained such *Credit* with him, that rather than part with them from his *Councils*, he chose to *disgust* the *principle Noblemen and Gentlemen* who had *hazarded* their *Lives and Fortunes* for his *Advancement* to the *Throne*.

But it was so plain to our *House of Commons*, that the *First Councils* of the *Revolution* were *declined*, and all *Affairs* directed by the *Advises* of those who had been *Instruments* in the *late subversions*, that there were daily complaints of it in our *House*, and many *Members* spoke it out, that such and so many *Miscarriages* both at *Sea* and *Land*, could proceed from nothing but *Treachery*; from thence arose *Debates* about *Addresses* to remove those from his *Councils*, who had *openly opposed* the *settlement* of our K. and formerly betrayed *England* to *France*, and been declared by the *Commons* in *Parliament* *Enemies to the Laws and Liberties of England*, and that they ought to have been removed from K. *Ch. II's* *Councils* and *Presence* for ever.

But that *party* falsely suggested at *Court*,

that our *honest Members* intended to *restrain* *Kingly power*, and so cried out of the *Danger* for the K. to suffer his *Servants and Ministers* to be torn from him by *Parliament*, that at last they *perswaded* him it was his *Interest* forthwith to *dissolve* that *GREAT CONVENTION*; and to gratifie their *Revenge* upon those who had *discovered* their *Treacheries*, they induced the K. to *dissolve* it *suddenly*, without those *respects* (of declaring his *Intentions* before hand, and advising to finish the *several Bills* before them) which all our K's who are well with their *People*, were wont to *pay* to *Parliaments*.

Lord *Lieu*. Sir, I think time hath made it manifest, that *Treacherous Councils* caused the K. to *dissolve* that *Convention*, and the *time* and *manner* of its *dissolution* surprized every man that had been *alive* in the *Revolution* with a *Sense* of his *danger*: Yet I doubt some of us, that might have been heard, did not shew the K. so *plainly as we ought*, how he was *therein betrayed*, and the *Ground* cut from under his *Feet* by those *wicked Flatterers*.

He ought to have been to'd, that he *destroyed* his own *Title and Claim* to the *Crown*, by *dissolving* the *Convention*, before they had provided (by *Oak* or *Subscription* of a *Declaration*, as was proposed, or any other way proper for a *Convention* of the *people* to *settle a Government* when the *Throne* is *Vacant*) for the *peoples general Allowance* of the *Right and Justice* of the *Now Settlement* and for a *perpetual Succession* of *Authorities* to be derived only from them.

He should have been minded, that some of his own *Council* had *asserted* in the *Convention*, that the *people could not make him K.* and that there could be no *Legal Parliament*, unless called by K. *J's Writ*, and the *Members* took the *Oaths of Allegiance* to K. *J.* as the *Stat. of 5 Eliz.* requires.

It he believed those his *Councillors*, he had no *power* to call a *Parliament*, nor was there any *lawful Declaration* that the *Throne was Vacant*, that all K. *James's* *party* were as much at *Liberty* to *maintain his Authority*, as when the K. *Landed at Torbay*.

It ought to have been told him, that the *Authors* of those *Councils* to *Dissolve* that

that Convention before such a Settlement, knew too well that they made himself Cancel all his Proclamations against the Irish as Rebels and Traitors to him, and all his Commissions given to suppress and subdue them as of no Authority.

They knew that by making the Legality of the Acts of the Convention doubtful, they revived the disputes concerning the Collecting and Levyng the publick Revenues payable to the late K's and the Legality of all the Taxes imposed for the year 1689. which they were confident the Judges durst not have determined, not to mention more particulars, they gave a fair occasion for K. James to play his Game in Ireland, and to have sent out his Writs for a Parliament in England.

Dept. Lieut. My Lord, Has not your Lordship forgotten to mention one part of the Cunning of the Treasonable Advice to Dissolve the Convention? was it not to put it into the power of the Corporation Men appointed by K. James's Charters to choose the greatest part of the Members of the Parliament they advised our K. to call?

When the People chose the Convention, those that had betrayed the Liberties of the Corporations were under the dread of their own Guilt and Punishment, and durst not oppose the Favourers of the Revolution; but they had then been so long sheltered, and so many of their Leaders put into Powers and Trusts under our K. that they durst contest the Validity of K. James's Charters, and presumed to set up for Members of Parliament, such as they hoped would keep them in the Powers of the Corporations which they had gotten.

Lord Lieut. Sir, There were so many Treacheries in that Advice to Dissolve the Convention at that time, that they cannot be all Named. It delayed the Relief of Ireland for two or three Months of the Spring of the Year 1690. It lost those Money-Bills for that expedition which lay upon the Table almost finished by the H. of Commons.

It kept the Forces under Duke Schonberg in a Starving Condition, unable to take the Field against the Enemy.

It prevented the Provision of a sufficient Force at Sea, and so retarded the setting out of our Fleet, as gave the French the

boldness to enter our Channel, and Attaque us almost in our own Harbours, with such success against us, and our Allies, as lost some thousands of Lives, and many a good Ship, to our Eternal dishonour.

The French had such hopes, that by dissolving the Convention, the Power of K. James's party was revived, that they braved it up and down upon our Coasts, and took up the Harbour where our K. Landed, and caused such distractions in the Kingdom as cost at least a Million of Mony in drawing out the Militia.

Yet among all the mischievous Intentions of this Advice, I take the worst of all to have been that kind of necessity which their Councils and Management of affairs put upon our K. to expose his Royal person to the Suffering and Hazards of that Irish War, from which they wickedly hoped he should never have returned: And we must all thank God for saving our Deliverer from perishing by a Canon-Ball that touched his Body.

Dept. Lieut. My Lord, I had never seen so clearly that our K. was betrayed in every thing, if I had not been chosen of this Parliament, and observed what sort of Men were busie without doors in persuading the Members, that all the Convention did, ought to be Null and Void; and I heard mention made by some Members of confirming their Acts, and it was sharply replied, that what was Void from the beginning, could never be confirmed.

Many about the Court privately Sollicited the Members of our House to avoid the mention of the Acts of the Convention, saying, pray leave them as you find them, but their design was to keep up the Notion of K. James's Right, and to make this Parliament as well as the Convention, to be of no Authority, knowing that it is called, and sits only by force of the Acts of the Convention.

It was a happy head, that in order to a Settlement of the K's Throne, contrived the Bill to acknowledge, that Their Majesties were, are, and of Right ought to be, by the Laws of this Realm, our Sovereign Liege Lord and Lady, &c. and to enact, that all the Acts of the Conventional Parliament, were

were, and are Laws and Statutes of the Kingdom.

Yet, to my knowledg, there wanted not Whispers to the K. that it was of dangerous Consequence to offer that Bill, and treacherously advised him to use his Interest amongst the Members of both Houses to lay it aside.

And pray, my Lord, may I not reckon among these Treacheries the Advices and Solicitations to our K. to send a general Bill of Grace and free Pardon, and without regard to Exemplary Justice, for those Tresasons and Murthers and other High Crimes committed before his coming hither?

I am sure the same sort of Men, that solicited against the security of the Government, were those that flattered his Majesty by that *All of Grace* to provide for their Security, if it should stand; they not only deceived the K. of the great Forfeitures and Fines that ought in Justice to have born some part of the Charge of his Expedition hither; but have set all their Party at least upon Even Ground with the most Innocent Sufferers for their Country, to be preferred to all sorts of Magistracies and Authorities, and saved them from making reparations to multitudes, whom they had opprest under colour of Authority in the two last Reigns.

I have heard some of them laugh at the Deceit put upon the K. by that *All of Grace*, and the formal Exception of a few Persons, that were not the greatest Criminals. They knew that those Exceptions could be of no effect for exemplary Justice and Security, as the Convention intended.

The Chief Crimes committed in those late Reigns, both in the Councils and Courts of Justice, were Tresasons at the Common Law, and tryable in Parliament only, (being of a more pernicious nature than those specified in the Statutes) and these Offenders with their Adherents of lesser guilt, should have been reserved for their Tryals in Parliament, and Penalties to have been set by them, and exempted from the Power of the K. to pardon, as in such Cases has been usual.

But the Exception made of a few, such as they are, without naming or distinguishing their Crimes, without enacting any

Course for their prosecution, and without Exemption from Common Pardons at pleasure, could amount to no more than to make the People hope in vain for some Vindication of publick Justice.

Time has shewed the *Craft* of this Contrivance by the *Indemnity* of all the Persons excepted, that are not since in Rebellion against our K. No Process has issued against any of them, not a penny of their Estates, nor one hair of their heads hath been touched; and several of them have ever since sat in the House of Lords, as our *Legislators*.

Lord Lieut. Sir, If you will have my Opinion of the K. his *Bill of Grace*, I think they deceived him to weaken his own Interest, under a specious shew to strengthen it.

All the Enemies to K. William his coming to the Throne became bold and active to subvert him, and assuming to themselves to be the best and strongest Party, they would scarce suffer any thing to be done, but by their advices; and all his Affairs were so managed, that scarce any thing had good Success.

They counselled him to hazard his Royal Person in a dangerous War in Flanders, while the War raged in Ireland, and the Desolations there daily increased. They knew the Troops could not be recalled from Ireland, unless the Protestants of that Kingdom had been armed, as they had often petitioned; and that therefore the Number of the Troops, that he could carry from his own Kingdom must be small, and yet their Advices would not suffer him to give Arms to those Protestants, which would have enabled him to have made use of most of those forces in Ireland against France.

The Issue of that Campigne of 1691. I need not tell you, it is too well known, that the strong City of Mons was lost to the French K. to strengthen his Frontiers, and that the French Bravoes boasted, that they dare to charge the Rear of our Confederates in their breaking up the Campaign.

I know not by what Councils the Affairs at Sea that Year were directed, and the Officers chosen; but this I know, that the Success of the Fleet was no better than that

that of our Armies at Land, and by all our Expence both of Blood and Treasure, the Power of France was rather increased than diminished.

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, Pray let me mind your Lordship of what I observed in our House of Commons, after the K. had been advised to go for Flanders: They to pressed upon the House to hasten the money-Bills, that they gave us no time to think of our own Safety in his absence.

Many of us saw the danger of the Government from the Persons put in Authority after the *Act of Grace*, and offered a provis'on of the lowest security, that all admitted into their Majesty's Service, should subscribe a Declaration, That their Majesties were, are, and of right ought to be, by the Laws of this Realm, our Sovereign Lord and Lady K. and Q. but by divers Artifices under pretence of Haste, that Bill was evaded, and our secret Enemies left to play their Game, whilst our K. was abroad.

Then, my Lord, the mysterious Constructions of the Oath of Allegiance, which some advisers (false to the Government) had only whispered, began to be made publick, whereby they would have taken off all the binding Powers of that Oath to our K. and Q.

It was first inflitred into the Clergys heads, and they began to appear in some places in combined Numbers before the Sessions of the peace, where they were bound to take it, demanding Allowance to put their own perverted Sense upon the Oaths, and to Enter it upon Record.

They invented the *National Distinction* between a K. *de facto & de Jure*, of a K. in Fact, and a K. in Right, allowing no more to our K. than to have unjustly got the Possession of the Crown, without Right or Title, and maintaining the Right to be in K. James. *

Thence they taught that the taking the Oath of Allegiance to our K. and Q. was no acknowledgment of their Right to the Crown, nor inconsistent with the Oaths, they had taken to K. James, and that the power that our K. and Q. had gained made it lawful to swear Allegiance to them and

obey them whilst K. J. is unable to protect them, provided they did nothing against his Right.

† To the same purpose they cryed up the Statute of the 11 H. 7. which enacted, that it should not be Treason to follow a K. in possession, and therefore advised K. James's Officers and Friends, that they might without danger of Treason take Employments under K. William until they should have a time to appear for their true K.

And to undermine our K's true Title, they set up for him *false claims*, which served only to keep up questions about his Title, and to insinuate, that he had no Legal Right to the Crown. For that Reason they boldly Printed a Claim for him by absolute Conquest, and procured from the Courts to have it published by Authority. ||

There was also a former Treatise by the Right Reverend the Bishop of St. Asaph Printed, and dispersed, called, *God's ways of disposing Kingdoms*, to justifie the Crown to have been disposed of by God to our K. by the means of his Sword.

And to avoid our Laws for his Settlement, another pretence of Divine Right was also set up under the *Aery Nation* of a *Deliverer*.

Yet none of these *New Attempts* to subvert our K's Title to the Crown by the Laws of the Realm, have been thought fit to be Prosecuted, nor any man Indicted for them tho they were manifestly design'd to subvert our Fundamental Laws declared in this Revolution, and the Right and Property of every Man's Estate in England.

And as they thus used *various Artifices* to render our K's Title uncertain, either from God or Man, slighting and decrying the plain contrast between our K. and Q. and the people by their *Representatives*, so they Industriously obstruded a Declaration of the particular Tyrannies of K. James, whereby it might have been manifest to all the World, that he renounced and abdicated his Office of an English Legal K. to be an *absolute Tyrant*, that had all our Laws in his Breast to suspend the Execution of them as he thought fit.

* Dr. Sherlock's Case of Allegiance to Sovereign Powers. + Vide The Case of Allegiance to a King in Possession. 1 & 2 part. || Vid. An Answer to Mr. Ashton's Paper. Whilst

Whilst they could avoid such a Declaration, they thought K. J's Case would never be desperate, and the sufferings under him would slide out of Memory, and in a little time they might dare to compare (as they now do by printed Papers) the times of his Reign with the present, to delude the people.

Lord Lieut. Sir, There is another Art hath been used to weaken our K's Title, which you have not mentioned; they have dexterously avoided the matter of the supposed Prince of Wales, and would not suffer it to be brought into Parliament, that the Imposture might have been there proved, and declared to all the World.

From thence occasion is taken to move pity to that poor Innocent Prince, as they call him, suggesting, that he might have been bred a Protestant, and all contests quieted about the Succession to the Crown, and the grounds of a perpetual War avoided, whereby they indeavoured to cool the peoples Affections towards our K. and keep them in doubts of New Revolutions.

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, I see so much Treachery in the whole managment of the K's affairs, that scarce have I patience to think of any more particulars. The whole Administration is put into such hands as would make a Man believe, that a design is deeply and strongly laid to bring back K. James; most of the Justices of the Peace throughout ENGLAND, (whose faithful Execution of the Laws is the Strength of the Government,) are now such as would certainly be ready to bid him welcome, and many of them so scandalous in their very Morals, that the Q. was constrained by Proclamation to order the Execution of the Laws against Debauchery even amongst themselves.

And my Lord, to prove that the powers of the Militia are in no better hands, I shall need no other proof, than to pray your Lordship to look over your own List.

Lord Lieut. Sir, I think we may conclude, without looking further into the management, that if those who advise our K. in his Administration had not been false to his Interest, the Kingdom might have now been free from the Trouble and charge of Raising the Militia, as we are Commanded.

I know not whether we are able any

way to secure either their Majesties, or our selves. I see by the Gazzets and Proclamations, that the Q. and her Council know not how far this Conspiracy doth extend. Several of the Lords of our House are in hold under the Charge of the Treason; divers of the Officers of her Majesties present Guards and other Troops are secured; some that were lately in great Command in the Army, are now in the Tower; divers both Lords and others are fled; and, as I hear, great Numbers are suspected to have waited for the Landing of the French, to have shewn themselves in Arms against their Majesties; and in short, there is too much reason to fear a general Revolt of most in Authority, if their Service should be wanted against K. James.

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, I begin to doubt whether the Q. hath had faithful Advice to command the Rising the Militia every where upon this Alarm. It shews to all her Enemies, that we are in Great Fear, it increases the Burthens and Vexations of the people, it renders K. James's party more considerable than I hope they are: And I see no safety to be expected from it whilst it is under such Command, and out of a Method long lookt for from the Parliament, to make it Ease and Useful.

Lord Lieut. Sir, I can give you no judgment of this Advice, save only that it is suitable to all the rest which hath been to make a shew of preserving this Government, but in Truth to keep it unsettled, and to preserve K. James's pretences alive among the people, and at last to perswade them there is a necessity for his return, France being too Potent for us, and neither safety nor trad. to be hoped for without Peace with him; and to be plain, I doubt that all the Advices given to the K. about the Management of this War, have tended to the same purpose. I can never believe it had been otherwise possible that the K. should have been advised to have made a War upon France by Land, when the experience of all Ages hath proved, that this Island could neither be safe nor free without absolute Dominion of our Seas.

The K's advisers could not be ignorant of our Ancient Histories, that whentoever any Neighbour Nation could make their Ships (such pittiful things as they then

then were) more Numerous than ours. this Island was harassed, Robbed and Spoiled, just as we are now frightened, and in Fine forced to receive new Masters.

It is notorious, that the Romans, Danes, Saxons, and Normans, by the help of their Ships, became Masters of this Kingdom.

Those Advisers could not but know, that all our former Princes (till Charles the II. betrayed us) were so jealous of the French getting at Sea, that they durst not attempt, until Hen. 4. presuming upon the Friendship of Q. Eliz. they began to build a Ship of Force; yet a Message was soon sent him, that if he did not desist, it should be burnt in his Harbour.

They could not but understand, that if our Seas were absolutely commanded by us, the K. might have been out of danger of exposing his Person in War, and we might have fate in Safety, laughing at all the designs that the Council of France could invent against us.

Doubtless, they knew that the French King could neither have had Money, Men nor Arms to offend his Neighbours, if the many Millions of Money given by Parliament since this Revolution had been spent in Naval Forces, put into skilful and faithful hands, which had applied themselves to prevent the Trade of the French with other Nations.

It would have cost us less than the Money given to have sent out yearly a Royal Fleet of a hundred Sail for our defence and glory, as early in the Spring as was needful, and over and above to have hired a hundred Sail of the best Merchants to have been wholly employed to destroy their Fishing in New-found-Land, and their Interest in America, to have crushed their Villanous Privateers, and have burnt the Ships of Trade in all their Harbours.

This alone had secured Europe from the French Tyranny, given Safety, Peace and Trade to England, and made him send K. James to a Convent to do Penance for the Ills he hath done.

These Advisers could not but know, that the Strength and Wealth of England could never have been lessened by a War against the French at Sea (unless some special anger of God had been shewn against us) our Country could have afforded better

Ships, and Men, and Commanders, for the Sea than was possible for the French K. to have provided, there had been a perpetual Spring to supply our Expences, the Money had returned, as it were, in a Circle, unto the Gentlemen, Tradesmen and Mariners, because the Beef, the Pork, the Bread, the Pease, the very cloathing of the Seamen, had been of our own growth and manufacature, and the more Ships had been equipped for Sea, the more had Trade and the price of our Commodities been advanced, and our force had been increased by using it, in regard more of our laborious Youth would have applied themselves to the Sea-Affairs upon such Encouragement, and increase of their Numbers would naturally and necessarily have promoted Trade and Power, and made all Nations court our Friendship.

Surely, these could not have been forgotten, having been so lately proved by these, who pursued this course, who were without Right and Title to the Government and yet were submitted to by all the World.

But on the contrary, these Advisers must needs understand, that when they counselled the K. to war against France at Land, it must be upon very unequal Terms, both of expence and hazard.

He could not transport his Men without great charge, and must suffer the delays and dangers of the Winds and Seas; He must exhaust his own Kingdom's money to maintain his Troops abroad, and to be spent amongst Foreigners for the provisions of his Army; he must expect to lose many of our Englishmen by the sudden change of Climate, Air and Diet, and the Ignorance of providing for themselves amongst Foreigners.

In all misfortunes and accidents of War he must want all sudden assistance from his Subjects; he can have no Recruits in his greatest necessities, unless the Winds and Seas shall favour him; and his Troops may be utterly destroyed, before it may be possible for him to be relieved, and they that gave the Advice know, that the people of the Country, that is the Stage of the War, are such bigoted Papists, as would rather cut the Throats of our English in such Case of Distress, than afford them the least Succour.

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, You have made it so plain, that our K. cannot reasonably aspire to Greatness, Glory, or Splendor, otherwise than by gaining *Empire at Sea*; that it could be no mistake, but *VILE TREACHERY*, to advise him to suffer in his person all the hardships, accidents and dangers of a *Land War*, from whence he cannot hope for such advantages, either to himself or his Kingdom.

I have often asked the most knowing Men I could meet with, what benefit our K. or Kingdom could expect from this mighty War in *Flanders*, if it should succeed beyond most mens hopes ? And the Answer I could ever get, hath been no more, than that we should weaken the Power of *France*. But I was bold to pursue my question, and ask, whether we thought so to beat him in *Flanders*, as that he should give us up his *Fleet*, and his *Naval Stores* to pacifie us, or whether we hope this Sumner or the next, to gain his *Froniers*, Cities and Garrisons, which it hath cost him near *Thirty Years* to compleat, and *many Millions* to fortifie ; or was it designed to gain part of his Country from him, for the *English* to inhabit, or to over-run his whole Kingdom and possess the Crown of *France*, and to plant the *Protestant Religion* there by the *Hermophrodite Swords* of *Papists* and *Protestants* ?

To all this it was only said, that our *K.* is close in his *Councils*, but no doubt he hath some very great design; I could not forbear replying, that as far as I can discern, whoever put his *Majesty* upon winning *Towns* and *Territories* from *France*, and aspiring to the *Crown* of that Kingdom were the *most* desperate designers against the *Peace*, *Liberty* and *Happiness* of *England*, and the consequence of *Prosperity* therein, would be to change us from the *most* *Antient* *free* *Kingdom* in the *World*, to be a miserable *Province* of a *K.* of *France* under a *Foreign Army*.

Prudent Councils had been taken.

For the whole *English* power in Conjunction with the *Dutch* Naval Force, to have been employed against *France* at Sea, to have cut off its *Trade* with all *Nations*, and destroyed his *Shipping*, he had never been able to send out Armies equal to the *Confederates*, nor to have kept his own people from *Mutinies* for want of bread.

He might have had work enough, and too much, to have watched and defended his Harbours, and his Coasts, from the Incursions and Spoils, that might have been made by our smaller Vessels, sometimes in one place and then in another, as the winds had permitted, and he might have been hindred of Ammunition sufficient for any Numerous Armies.

This had been the most speedy and most certain Way to assist the Confederates by disabling France to resist their force; yet if it had not been thought *assistance* enough to those our Allies to have taken upon us the burthen of the War at Sea for our share, Contribution might have been sent them towards their Armies, and a fourth part of the Money we have expended in the Land-war, would have raised them more Men and Horse in their own Countries, than we have been able to send into Flanders.

I have heard some *Ministers* of the chief Princes of the *Confederacy* say, that their Masters wanted no *Souldiers* in their Countrys, if they had but *Money*.

Lord Lieut. I was satisfied almost from the beginning of this War that the K. was too much advised by some that are false to his Interest, but I was never hopeless of some success, until I saw, the *Parliament Councils* in the way of its management declined.

They wisely advised such a *Vigorous War*; that he should enter into no *Alliance* with *Prince of State*, that should not make it *one of the Articles of the Treaty*, to break off *all Commerce* and *Correspondence* with *France*, and our K. graciously promised it, in Answer to their *Address*: and the *Dutch* and *English* began briskly to make *Prize* of *all ships* they found *Trading* with the *French*, but in a short time a *Neutrality*, and a *free Trade* with them, (no doubt by some *Treacherous Advice*)

was, and ever since hath been *openly* allow'd to the Kingdoms of *Portugal*, *Denmark*, and *Sweden*, the State of *Venice*, and others, whereby the *Enemy* is supplyed with *Naval Stores* and *Provisions of War*, hath *went* for all his *Native Commodities*, and *Manufactures*, and is enabled to *maintain* a *War* both by *Sea* and *Land*.

And for my part I do not understand, that his *Armies* are now less *Numerous*, than when the *War* first began; and 'tis manifest his *Fleet* is greatly *increas'd*, and much better *Equipp'd*, and his *Ports* richly supplyed with *Trading Ships* taken from the *Dutch* and us, which are computed to amount to *thousands*; and I see no advantages that we have gained upon him, whence we should expect greater *success* against him, than we have had *hitherto*.

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, it seems to me upon our whole Discourse, that *some* who have been *false* to our K's Interest, have had *an Influence* in the Management of *all his Affairs*, and have given him *false measures* of the *State* of this Kingdom, the *Temper* of its people, and its *Interest*, and have cunningly and falsely indeavour'd to divide his *Majesties* and his *Subjects* *Interest*, and by *Flatteries* to lead him into the manner of *Governing* which he came to *reform*, and they have brought all his Affairs to *such a State*, that honest men know

not what to do for the service of their *Majesties*.

I am sure upon this meeting of your *Lieutenancy*, required by your Lordship, I dare not discourse of our dangers, which I take to be more from *Traytors* among our selves than from the *French K.* I suppose it will not now be long before they come. What is your Lordships pleasure to have done with them?

Lord Lieut. Sir. For this time I will only read the *Letters* and the *Proclamation* incloſed to me, and give them *Order*s to have the *Regiments* drawn forth, *Viewed* and *Mustred*, with *Commands* to be ready with *Mony* and *Ammunition*, according to the *Act of Parliament*, when they shall be *Commanded*.

I will not make any *Clamours* by turning out *Officers* at present, but if there be any *Invasion* or *Insurreiction*, I shall make bold, without acquainting our *Court*, to revoke the *Commissions* of many of the *Deputy Lieutenants*, and make *such Deputyies* and *Officers*, as, to my knowledge, are *True* to their *Majesties*, and I doubt not to find our *Country Men* so *true* to their *Majesties*, their *Religion* and *Liberties*, as to make them *hollow* out of the *Field* *such Officers* as I shall *discharge* upon that occasion.

F I N I S H

